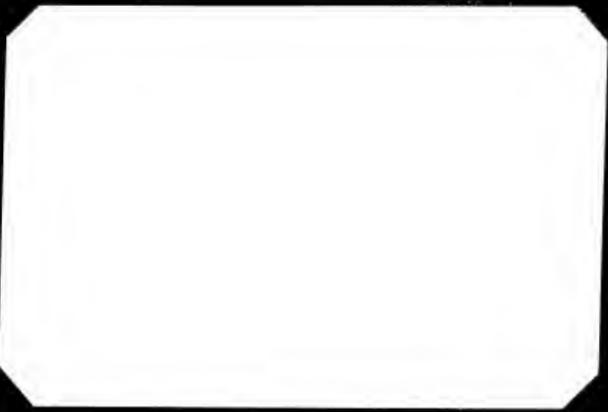


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HIS LAST BATTLE,

AND

One of his Greatest Victories;

BEING THE SPEECH OF

WENDELL PHILLIPS

IN FANEUIL HALL,

ON THE LOUISIANA DIFFICULTIES,

JANUARY 15, 1875.

COMPILED FROM VARIOUS REPORTS, WITH A HISTORICAL
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, A DISCUSSION OF THE
QUESTIONS INVOLVED, AND A CRITICAL
ESTIMATE OF THE SPEECH, ETC.

BY

JESSE H. JONES,

President of the Wendell Phillips Memorial Association.

BOSTON:

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P R E F A C E.

SOME years ago a neighbor of mine, J. P. Chamberlin, M. D., described to me the speech of Wendell Phillips, which is the subject of this monograph, as he had heard it, speaking of it in the strongest terms of admiration. I was so much interested in his account that afterwards we went to Fanenil Hall together, and he showed me where he had stood, a little in front of the middle of the hall, and where Mr. Phillips sat, up in the northwest corner of the gallery.

Afterward, another neighbor, George W. Kelley, now judge of our district court, told me of the same speech, not knowing what I had heard before, and spoke of it in similar terms. He had something to do with the shouting by which Mr. Phillips was called out. But neither could locate the time, or tell anything that would enable another to do so, except that the meeting was concerning Louisiana and Sheridan. After a year or two the judge found a copy of the speech among his papers, and sent it to me. It was a tract without date, evidently edited by Mr. Phillips. From its contents I learned that Gaston was governor, and so by searching the files of a Boston daily I was able to locate the event.

At once I was filled with the desire to make as complete a record as possible of the part Mr. Phillips had in

the affair, so that whoever might read should see it living again before his imagination. To this end I determined to collate all the principal records I could find, glean every several item of the events, and, so far as I could discern, arrange them all together as they occurred, so that all that Mr. Phillips said, just as he said it, and all the demonstrations of the crowd, — everything which the reports of the Boston press furnished, should be gathered into one record that would be practically complete. This I have done, and now present the result.

The first comparison showed that Mr. Phillips had taken the "Journal" report, with slight variations, and made some additions more fully expressing his thought than he had been able to do under the harrying of the treatment he received at the time, and in one instance had added much new matter. All the additions remain, and are designated by being enclosed in brackets with a star.

The next comparison showed that the "Post" had endeavored to give a complete verbatim report of almost the whole proceedings; and that in its account of what Mr. Phillips said, there was important matter which did not appear in the tract. On further comparison, the "Advertiser" also was found to furnish valuable material. By the careful collation of these three reports with the edited copy, and the piecing in of all the various fragments, it was possible to make a comparatively complete and correct account of the whole event so far as Mr. Phillips was concerned. Afterwards I came upon the verbatim report in the "Transcript," printed under circumstances which prove the great interest his utterance had awakened; and what I had in hand was carefully collated with that. Thus, out of five accounts, I gathered

everything that seemed to go toward making accuracy and completeness in the record.

Then I submitted this record, and all I had done besides, to my two neighbors who were present, and from them important information was received; and the whole material as it stands has received their sanction. Afterwards the manuscript was placed in the hands of the Garrisons and Hallowells, who were closest personal friends of Mr. Phillips, and the two following letters are the result:—

BOSTON, October 26, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. JONES,—I return your MS. herewith. By all means print and publish it. Your estimate of the value of Mr. Phillips' speech is fully justified by both matter and manner; and as one of his friends I shall rejoice to see it added to the list of his published public utterances.

Thanking you for allowing me the pleasure of reading the pamphlet in advance of publication, and assuring you of my sincere hope that it is destined to have a wide circulation, I remain

Yours very truly,

RICHARD P. HALLOWELL.

BOSTON, November 28, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. JONES,—I was present at the Faneuil Hall meeting which you have so laboriously and conscientiously reproduced in form and spirit from the incomplete reports of the day. The feeling of the occasion was intense, the repressed excitement of the audience finding full vent when Wendell Phillips was at length summoned to the platform and gave voice to the opposition felt against the purpose of the managers. Mr. Phillips, surcharged with ammunition gathered from the preceding speeches, from being himself at bay, soon reversed the position and put the meeting upon the defensive. The

chagrin of the majority of the audience, which had come to censure the President and General Sheridan, found expression in frequent interruption and derisive comments from the floor; but the speaker's keen retorts developed a strong force of sympathizers and counteracting applause.

You have faithfully represented the dignified courtesy and gentlemanly bearing of the chairman, the Hon. William Gray, who, in a trying position, with the unexpected criticism and eloquent arraignment of the meeting's callers, preserved a firmness and fairness that extorted alike the admiration of friend and opponent.

Although the cut and dried resolutions were carried at the close of Mr. Phillips' speech, it was generally felt that the meeting failed of its purpose. The back of the protest was broken. This was the last great effort of the orator of the anti-slavery movement in Faneuil Hall, and therefore memorable. As you suggest, it was a reminder of that first historic speech, when the young lawyer bearded the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth.

You have performed a service by your skilful reproduction of the scene from scattered materials. I have read it with aroused recollection and in critical mood, failing to detect a false note in your judicial statement of the facts. Richard Olney's speech at this meeting, defining his views on Federal interference with State concerns, is especially interesting, in contrast with his action as Secretary of State, during the late Chicago riots.

Hoping that your pamphlet will have a large sale, I am very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

With these indorsements the work is offered to the consideration of that multitude of people in the land who love and honor the great champion of human freedom for all mankind. — J.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the month of January, 1875, a considerable portion of the people of the North became aflame with indignation at the course pursued by the Federal government in the city of New Orleans with reference to the legislature of Louisiana. On the fourth day of that month, when the legislature met, the attempt to organize the lower House was attended by acts of violence, which resulted in the coming of United States troops into the Assembly room, and their arresting and taking away five men who claimed to be members. This act put a part of the North into a fever of excitement, they believing and claiming that the military authorities of the United States had interfered unlawfully in the civil affairs of a State, and dictated the formation of the legislature, thus violating one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and putting in peril our whole system of government. Public meetings to express the indignation thus aroused were held, especially in St. Louis, New York, and Boston. Our concern is with the meeting in the latter city.

Soon after the events in Louisiana were known, a petition was put in circulation in Boston for the use of Faneuil Hall, "the Cradle of Liberty," for a public meeting in which to express the feelings of the citizens of Boston who condemned the course of the government. The petition was granted; and the meeting was called for noon on Friday, the fifteenth of the month.

"The day was cold, and the hall so chilly that none could be comfortable without an overcoat. . . . At noon the hall was comfortably filled, and upon the call to order, ten minutes later, there was no standing room left," — the house was packed to the doors, the floor with men standing solid together, and the galleries with people seated and standing.

Among those present was Wendell Phillips, who sat in the extreme northwestern corner of the gallery on the left of the speakers, behind the close board partition which surrounds the stairway by which on that side one can descend from the gallery down upon the speaker's platform. He was "in full view of and facing the audience," and when he was discovered and called for, he at once became as "conspicuous" as any person in the hall.

On the platform, besides the speakers, the "Post" mentioned the Hons. William Aspinwall, Edward Gray, and Martin Brimmer, E. B. Haskell, Esq., President Eliot of Harvard College, Henry D. Crowell, Esq., Robert H. Gardner of Maine, William Perkins, Esq., William Endicott, Jr., Esq., Franklin Haven, Esq., and Samuel F. Haven, Esq.

"The meeting was called to order by J. Lewis Stackpole, Esq., assistant city solicitor" of Boston, who presented the following list of officers, "which was adopted unanimously: the names of Mr. Gray and Governor Gaston being received with great applause."

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President.

WILLIAM GRAY.

Vice-Presidents.

HIS EXCELLENCY WM. GASTON,	REV. JAMES F. CLARKE,
HON. ALEX. H. BULLOCK,	COL. C. R. CODMAN,
HON. CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS,	HON. WILLARD P. PHILLIPS,
CHAS. W. ELIOT, PRES. H. U.	COL. THEODORE LYMAN,

Vice-Presidents.

HON. CHARLES ALLEN,	JOHN L. GARDNER,
DR. ESTES HOWE,	FRANKLIN HAVEN,
GEORGE R. MINOT,	WILLIAM PERKINS,
WM. E. PERKINS,	WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.,
GEN. A. P. ROCKWELL,	GEO. O. SHATTUCK,
WILLIAM ASPINWALL,	HON. FRANCIS W. BIRD,
W. W. GREENOUGH,	FRANCIS PARKMAN,
MARTIN BRIMMER,	HENRY J. CROWELL,
HENRY W. PAINE,	ALBERT MASON,
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,	JOHN T. CLARK,
HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM,	HENRY O. HYDE,
E. W. GURNEY,	COL. WM. W. SWAN.

“The names of Gaston, Bullock, Adams, Cobb, Clarke, Saltonstall, and Bird were greeted with cheers.”

Secretaries.

MOORFIELD STOREY,	JOHN T. MORSE, JR.,
GEORGE P. KING,	JOHN J. FRENCH.

On taking the chair Mr. Gray made an address, the purport of which fully appears in the opening and closing paragraphs as follows:—

“FELLOW-CITIZENS:—In the opening month of the centennial year in which we are to celebrate the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, the culmination of those long civil struggles which preceded American Independence, we are called upon to take notice of a fact which has no parallel in American history. We must seek under the arbitrary tyranny of the Stuarts of England, or under the iron despotism of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, for anything to place by the side of that outrage committed in Louisiana on the fourth day of January, 1875. It gives me great pleasure, fellow-citizens, to stand in your presence in this hall on an occasion like this. No party ties are to fetter the speech of any one who addresses you to-day. (Applause.) No party fealty can put a check upon the free speech of the citizens of Massachusetts in Faneuil Hall. (Applause.) I am the more glad, fellow-citizens, that this meet-

ing has assembled, when I remember that we have two Senators in Congress whose voices have not been heard (applause) upon this enormous outrage, and when I remember that the two leading candidates for the chair of Charles Sumner are now members of the House of Representatives at Washington, and that their voices have been silent. (Applause.) We have been educated in Massachusetts, fellow-citizens, and I trust and feel confident that, without the aid and countenance of those to whom we naturally have looked as our leaders, we will try to find our own way to the declaration and maintenance of the right. (Applause.)”

“FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I recall almost with a shudder the feelings which I had, and which you all must have had, when the despatch from Lieut. General Sheridan received from the Secretary of War that response, ‘The President and all the rest of us approve your conduct.’ I say I shuddered when I read that despatch, for had the people of Louisiana been less calm in their action, a spark might have set on fire a conflagration which years might not have extinguished. The power of the Government under these circumstances should be entrusted to cool heads and warm hearts. (Applause.) It is not enough that a person [*i. e.* Sheridan] does not intend to do wrong. If he occupies a high official position he is bound to do right. (Applause.) If he is too ignorant or too incompetent to know what the right is, then the responsibility of his continuing in place rests somewhere else.”

“The last sentence of Mr. Gray was received with loud applause and continued cheering, which was followed by three cheers for General Sheridan; and above all could be heard some one shouting, ‘All honor to his name!’” and to that shout every soldier voice and heart of the North will ever respond with all its strength, while there is a voice to shout or a heart to beat.

“The speaker called the audience to order, and introduced Col. Henry Lee, who,” after reading a warmly sym-

pathetic telegram from ex-Governor Bullock, presented the following —

RESOLUTIONS.

We, citizens of Boston, assembled in Faneuil Hall, hereby resolve, —

1. That we have heard with deep indignation, that five persons, occupying seats in the Legislature of Louisiana, were forcibly removed from the Hall of the House of Representatives on the 4th day of January, 1875, by the military forces of the United States.
2. That the conduct of these forces in such action was in violation of the rights of the people of Louisiana, and destructive of civil liberty.
3. That in the approval by the Secretary of War of the despatches of Lieut. General Sheridan we find an ignorance of correct principles which should disqualify him from holding his important office: and in his assumption to speak for the President and all the Cabinet, he committed a grievous wrong to those of his associates who had given no assent to such approval; and we appeal to them to repel the aspersion by their official action.
4. That the example transmitted to us by the founders of our Republic, to preserve the separate independence of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments in their respective spheres shall be transmitted by us to our children, and the military arm shall be kept subordinate to the civil power, to the end that the sword may be the supporter, and not the destroyer of civil liberty.
5. That the spirit which formed the confederacy of the colonies before the American Revolution, by which the interest and power of each and all were united, should lead the United States of America in their several State organizations, and by their citizens in public meeting assembled, to take care that no vital principle affecting the integrity and permanency of republican government shall be successfully assailed or undermined.
6. That ancient and modern history unite in declaring "that

illegal violence, with whatever pretence it may be covered, and whatever it may pursue, must inevitably end at last in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person."

7. That we tender our sincere sympathy to the people of Louisiana, and appeal to them to continue the forbearance which they have shown under these trying circumstances, and assure them that we will do all that in us lies to secure to each and every State in the Union, and to all the people, the maintenance of their just and inalienable rights.

8. That we fondly anticipate, with a better understanding between all parts of the country, the disappearance of sectional strife, being assured that the people of the country have cordially accepted the amendments to the Constitution, and intend to protect and maintain the civil and political rights which they guarantee to all.

9. That we hail with gratitude and delight the fact that we are all under one Government and one flag, and we look forward with confidence to the prosperity, peace, and happiness which belong to a free people, who make and administer their own laws.

How the resolutions were received is shown by the following comments of the reporters.

The "Post" said, "The resolutions met with general approval, and several of them were warmly applauded."

The "Journal" said, "The reading of the second resolution was received with a medley of cheers and hisses."

Of the addresses, except that of Mr. Phillips, passages are given which seem to be representative, though they are brief.

After the reading of the resolutions, the chairman introduced Gen. S. M. Quincy, of Boston, as the first speaker under them. General Quincy was chiefly occupied in defending or excusing General Sheridan, under whom he had served in New Orleans, and in laying the responsibility on the authorities at Washington; but he bore

strong testimony to the violence and bloodshed in the former city, and in Louisiana, in the following words : —

“ It has been my fortune since the close of the war to lead a column of Federal bayonets against the New Orleans mob and police, banded together in a work of assassination and massacre. . . . I have also been sent by General Sheridan more than once far into the interior of the State, to investigate murder and outrage, such as are now reported ; and I, for one, cannot doubt that the smouldering embers, which were then breaking out here and there in violence and blood, are still alive (applause), — and that the closing words of one of General Grant’s recent despatches are fearfully true, namely, that human life has been for some time past terribly cheap in Louisiana.”

The next speaker was Mr. John Quincy Adams, of Quincy. The pith of his extended address is in the following sayings : —

“ As soon, therefore, as the House met, having secured a legal quorum, they proceeded without delay to organize by the election of a Conservative Speaker ; and a Committee on Elections having been appointed, at once reported upon the right of the five conservatives, who had not received certificates of election from the Returning Board, to seats in the House. The report of the Committee was accepted, and the five members were duly sworn in and took their seats.”

“ Even if the prevailing faction pressed to the very edge of the law, yet they respected the law.”

“ Why is it not true, that, effected as that manoeuvre was, legally to be sure, but by sharp practice and surprise, its ultimate effect would have been to injure the Conservative cause itself ? ”

“ What right had soldiers of the United States to determine who should sit in the Legislature of a State ? ”

When Mr. Adams had finished there were “ loud calls for ‘ Phillips.’ ” The chairman disregarded them, however,

and introduced Hon. F. W. Bird, of Walpole, who spoke briefly in a feeble voice, but with a wildness of rhetoric that tries the seriousness of the reader. When he finished, "the friends of Mr. Phillips shouted his name." Thereupon "Mr. Gray said arrangements had been made for certain speakers, and that, if the audience would be patient, after they had finished, any one else might take the hall and carry on speaking till nightfall if they pleased." He then introduced Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, who, in the course of his address, spoke as follows:—

"But when the legislature, which those long suffering people who had gone to the polls and had succeeded in obtaining by this Conservative majority of twenty-odd thousand votes, had assembled, these troops were marched into the Assembly and seized five men who had been sent there by their constituents to represent them in the Assembly of Louisiana. When they did this it was as gross an usurpation by a military power upon a free people as the history of this country, or as the history of the world, presents."

Next came Hon. Albert Mason, of Plymouth, who in part said, for substance:—

"There was no pretence that the Assembly was not a legal body. General De Trobriand was requested simply to remove the members not returned by the Returning Board, and simply to judge of their qualifications; a right which the Assembly alone possessed. If this is done in one State it will be done in another. If this act is passed in silence there will be no safety for republican institutions."

Mr. Mason was followed by Richard Olney, Esq., the pith of whose thought was expressed in the following quotations:—

"Certainly the Federal troops in New Orleans on January fourth were not used to quell any insurrection. There had been

none there since September. . . . It is just as certain that they were not there upon any call of the State of Louisiana. Its Legislature made no such call, and being convened, its executive could not make it. This, then, being the state of things, . . . when its Legislature convenes its members approached the place of meeting through files of Federal soldiers. The State house was surrounded by them. . . .

“ Apparently it (the Administration) meant to assert that the President might enter a State with troops to suppress disorder and violence at his own discretion, upon his own view of the exigency, and without waiting for the consent or request of the State itself. No more glaring attempt at usurpation can be imagined. If successful, it would revolutionize our whole governmental system, . . . and clearly annihilate the right of local self-government by a State.”

After Mr. Olney, Mr. Robert M. Morse, Jr., spoke briefly, closing with these words:—

“ I would ask, Mr. Chairman, that this meeting send forth as the emphatic voice of Boston and Massachusetts to the President of the United States: Sir, your subordinates have forcibly ejected five members from the Legislature of Louisiana, and thereby deprived the people of that State of the right to be governed by their own representatives. Permit these five members to resume their seats in the Legislature of Louisiana.”

THE SPEECH OF MR. PHILLIPS.

“**T**HE moment Mr. Morse uttered his last sentence there were renewed cries for Wendell Phillips,” while the President came to the desk and said: “The question is on the adoption of the resolutions.” But the loud outcries of “Phillips!” “Phillips!” “Phillips!” continuing, that gentleman rose from his seat and removed his hat, as if about to speak; whereupon “the hall was filled with deafening cheers and a general uproar.” For what seemed “a long time” the conflicting cries of “Phillips!” “Phillips!” and “Question!” “Question!” contended for the mastery, “until the President of the meeting interfered to restore order.” “It was some moments before he could secure the attention of the audience, but when he did so he said:”—

FELLOW-CITIZENS, — We are assembled in Faneuil Hall to discuss great public questions. The meeting is open to any citizen who wishes to give us his advice. (Cries of “Good!”) Whoever chooses to speak shall be heard, if the chairman has the confidence of the meeting.

“After these remarks, Mr. Phillips, in his place in the gallery, said: ‘Mr. Chairman,’ and was about to continue, when there were loud cries of ‘Platform!’ Mr. Phillips hesitated, but the Chairman having beckoned to him,” he came slowly down the stairway in the midst of “tremendous applause and every expression of enthusiasm,” carrying his hat in his right hand half raised, seemingly musing as he came on what he should say. “As he stepped up upon the platform three cheers were given him, and there were some hisses.” Threading his way through those

seated there, he came around to the open space on the right of the President of the meeting, and taking his stand by the desk he surveyed the sea of upturned faces before him, more hostile than friendly, and regarding them for an instant he said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I came here this morning because I saw in the journals that the voice of Boston was to be uttered through Faneuil Hall on topics of great national interest. The citizens of Boston were summoned to record their verdict, mark you, on the conduct of the Executive of the United States. I looked over the list of gentlemen who summoned to Faneuil Hall the people of Boston, and I said, “If this be the voice of Boston, who are the Boston men that summon us to this expression of Boston’s opinion? Are they the men that vote and pay taxes here, and bear the shame or the glory of being citizens of Boston, that summoned this meeting?”

The first name on the list is that of Charles Francis Adams, of *Quincy*. (Hisses and cheers.) A very worthy—

“Here Mr. Phillips was interrupted by a storm of hisses which lasted for several seconds. Finally he ventured to go on and said:”—

A very worthy gentleman, but he votes and pays taxes in *Quincy*. (Great confusion here prevailed.) Well, gentlemen, if you will only hear me, you will see that I mean no disrespect to Mr. Adams, or to any other signer. (Cries of “You can’t!” and “Hear him!”) I say that Mr. Adams — allow me to speak — that Mr. Adams is a worthy gentleman. (Applause and confusion.) If you will only hear me, gentlemen, we will save time. (Cries of “Question!” &c.) I have no intention —

“Here the noise was so great that Mr. Phillips could not be heard, and he was obliged to pause. The President arose to restore order and stepped upon the platform and called loudly for order. So great, however, was the noise —

the words ‘Question !’ ‘Go on !’ ‘Hear him !’ ‘Free speech in Faneuil Hall !’ ‘Let him talk !’ &c., being shouted on all sides — that for some time the President could say nothing. At length the noise subsided to a certain extent, and the President said : —

“ Fellow-citizens, hear Mr. Phillips, hear anybody and everybody who wishes to speak in Faneuil Hall. Be patient and give them your ears, and finally vote according to your own judgment.” The words were received with great applause, and Mr. Phillips continued. He said : —

I observed on this list, gentlemen, the names of worthy citizens from Salem, and Plymouth, and Quincy, and Worcester, and Cambridge. But, gentlemen, I called up to my memory the one hundred men — lawyers, merchants, clergymen, and editors — who, on any other occasion [*in the judgment of the world] would be understood to represent the city of Boston (applause), and I affirm, fellow-citizens, that if you presented that paper to one hundred of them, ninety would refuse to sign it. (Applause and hisses, and cries of “Get out !” “No ! no !” &c.) Their names are not on this Call. (Cries of “Right !” and a voice, “That’s a lie !”) No, I deny it. (Confusion, and cries of “Order !”)

“ Here the voice of the speaker became inaudible. He waited a moment, and when he could be heard, he said : —

I have been in Faneuil Hall before. Now, gentlemen, all I ask is this — (A voice, “ You agree with Grant !”) All I ask is this : When gentlemen come here to express the voice of Boston, and have not the name of a leading clergymen, or lawyer, or editor (applause), or merchant, —

“ Here the speaker was interrupted by a tremendous uproar,” and there were cries of “Beecher !” “Infidel !” “Question !” “Who wrote the letter for Boston ?” “What kind of

a letter was it?" "Read the letter to Belknap!"¹ while hundreds were crying out, "Free speech!" "Hear him!" and "expressions of disgust and disapproval mingled in a deafening chorus."

Mr. Phillips continued: Fellow-citizens, pray hear me. (A voice, "Three cheers for Phillips the builder!")

The President again took the stand and called loudly for order, and said, "Friends, hear me. Brothers and fellow-citizens, hear me. I appeal to you as citizens of Boston to listen with patience to anything that is to be said. I have no reason to suppose that Mr. Phillips will say anything that will offend your sense of right and justice. (A voice, "No, sir!") But if he should do so, the power of the vote is in your hands ("Yes!")—and you can exercise it then; but hear him, I beg you hear him. (Applause and cries of "Good!")

Mr. Phillips continued, — The inference, fellow-citizens, that I draw from this examination [*the quality of the Call] is this: In forming resolutions which are to go forth from such a meeting as this, — practically, whatever may be the actual fact, — as the voice largely of Boston, it becomes gentlemen, standing here so alone, to be peculiarly careful in the facts they assert, and the inferences they

¹ Letter of Wendell Phillips to Secretary of War Belknap, referred to above.

BOSTON, Jan. 9.

SIR: I intrude on your time to thank the administration for the course taken in Louisiana. Sheridan's judgment is entirely correct. You must have, or easily obtain, abundant evidence to sustain him. I trust the President will support him promptly and vigorously. Be sure the North will rally around Grant in such circumstances. I wish to express to him my gratitude as a citizen for the decision and sagacity in dealing with the White League. One firm, decisive blow will scatter the whole conspiracy. Left to itself it will keep the South in a turmoil, and land her in bankruptcy, if not in rebellion.

Respectfully,

(Signed)

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

draw. Because, in the absence of Dana and Bigelow, and Abbott and Bartlett, and their fellows, the legal profession is not here. In the absence of the merchants of State Street, with half a dozen exceptions, the commerce of Boston is not here. (A voice, "That is so!" and hisses.) In the absence of every clergyman who votes in this city, the pulpit is not here. (A voice, "That is so!" applause and hisses.) Therefore I say (continued hissing), gentlemen, it becomes us to exercise extraordinary caution (cries of "Free speech!" in the midst of noisy demonstrations) that the facts we state in such a position, and the inferences we make are carefully guarded.

Now, gentlemen — (A voice, "Give us your opinion, quick!") Please be silent, while I try to make what reply I can to the statements of these eloquent gentlemen who have preceded me. And you will allow me to say at first, by way of preface, that the term "citizen of the United States" is not mere empty verbiage. It has a meaning, and a substantial meaning. To be a citizen of the United States is a great privilege. It carries with it invaluable rights, and every man rightfully claiming that name as his is entitled to the full protection of the National Government. Is he not? (Voices, "Yes!" "Yes!" "That is so!") Very well. No man doubts that whenever the United States citizen in question is in a foreign land — When Algiers trampled on a citizen of the United States (a voice, "Dr. Howe!"), Commodore Decatur, with guns shotted to the lips, taught the Dey his lesson. Ingraham taught Austria the same lesson (a voice, "How about the Virginius?"), and we have had something to do of that kind of work with Cuba. Well, now, gentlemen, what I say is, that the citizen of the United States in Massachusetts [* or Louisiana] is as much entitled to the protection of the nation as the citizen of the United States in Japan. Is he not? (A voice, "Yes, sir!" Cries, "That is so!")

Very well. When a negro from the Southern States is called [* hauled] from his house and about to be shot; when a white Republican, caught in some county of Alabama, is about to be assassinated ("That's a lie!" "You are right!" mingled applause and hisses), and he looks around on the State government about him, and sees no protection,—none whatever, for white or black,—has he not a right, a full, unquestioned, and emphatic right to call upon the National Government at Washington, and say, "Find or make a way to protect me, for I am a citizen of the United States"? (Tremendous applause, and voices, "Yes!" and "No!" "No!" "That is n't the question!" "That's not the point!") Very well, gentlemen, I want you to bear that text in mind as I go on. (Cries of "Question!" "Question!")

In 1872 the government at Washington recognized the government of Governor Kellogg of Louisiana. (Cries of "Shame on it!") It is not for you or me to-day to say whether it did wisely or not.

Here Mr. Phillips was greeted with cries of "Yes, it is!" which apparently roused his pugnacity; and while the audience was disputing, he took off his overcoat, stepped to the end of the platform (he was on the south side), laid it across a chair with a very determined air, returned to his place beside the desk, folded his arms, and stood in a defiant attitude which excited considerable laughter. He then said:—

The President of the United States had no alternative. "This created a tremendous uproar, hisses, cries, and shouts of laughter, and it was nearly a minute before he could be heard." When a lull came, he continued:—

Congress would do nothing; neither the Senate nor the House would act. Your Congress was dumb; it would not take a step in any direction. ("That's so!") There stood the President of the United States; what was he to

do? (A voice, "Smoke a cigar!") A voice, "Thank God we have sent better men this time!") I have just brought it to your mind that a citizen of the United States has a right to look up to him and say, "By your oath of office protect me." (Cries, "That is so!" A voice, "Yes, he never did!") Now Congress would do nothing; but there was the State of Louisiana going to pieces. Grant recognized Kellogg as governor. He must recognize somebody.

"This last sentence brought down the house, and everybody apparently was convulsed with laughter" intermingled with sneers. "Finally the excitement subsided, and Mr. Phillips continued:—" —

If he usurped power, or made a mistake, remember, gentlemen, for two long years Congress has never rebuked him, never attempted to check his steps. They have tried again and again to come to some conclusion on the Louisiana question, but they could not. But there stood the executive. He must act. He had no choice; he had got to act. The law must be executed. (A voice, "What law?") Why, the law of the United States to protect its citizens. He did what he was compelled to do. Well, then, driven into that position — shut up to it — give him your sympathy. (Tremendous applause. Cries of "No!" "No!" and prolonged laughter.) [* When the assembled wisdom of the nation confessed that it could see no satisfactory step to take, then have fair consideration for the man who was obliged by his oath of office to walk forward and meet his responsibilities. At least, when he has again and again and again besought Congress to relieve him of the burden, don't charge him with intent to usurp power.]

Oh, you know I am not a Grant man. (A voice, "You are on the wrong tack!") You know I am no partisan, one way or the other. (Laughter and cries of "Oh!" "What are you?") I never threw a vote in my life; never held

an office, and never expect to. (Cries, "Wash the blood off your hands!" "How about the constitution?") But I tell you that in September last this recognized Governor Kellogg, whom Congress would not disavow, and whom the President was forced to recognize (a voice, "No!"), — sends to Washington, strictly according to the constitution, — "the Legislature not being in session," — and says to General Grant: "Domestic violence threatens to subvert the government." Well now, gentlemen, be patient, and look at the question like sensible men. Grant could not have acted differently than he did. He could not doubt that statement or go behind it, or inquire into its truth. Suppose that Governor Gaston should send a message from Massachusetts to Washington to-day, and tell the President of a certain condition of affairs here, the President could not go back of that; he could not see anybody but Gaston; he has no right to. (Sneers and laughter.)

You remember the old story in Charles the First's day, when the King went into the House of Commons — other gentlemen have referred to it — and wanted to see the five members, and he said to the Speaker, "Where is So-and-so?" and the Speaker kneeled down and said: "May it please your Majesty, I cannot answer the question, because I have no right to speak anything that the House does not tell me to say." Well, it is exactly so that the President is situated with regard to Louisiana or Massachusetts matters. If Governor Gaston tells him a thing, that is to be taken for granted; he cannot go behind it. (Cries of "No!" "No!")

Well, now, Kellogg says to him — (A voice, "It's a lie!") Laughter and applause.) If there is any lawyer here that will dispute with me, I would like to have him.¹

¹ At various points, and presumably at this as one, Mr. Phillips turned around to the company on the platform, with a wave of the hand and a

(Applause.) Now, then, Kellogg thus calls upon him, and Grant goes in September to Louisiana. The streets are running with blood.

"At this point a burst of derisive laughter mingled with hisses greeted the speaker, and the uproar continued for nearly a minute, with cries of 'Oh!' 'Too thin!' groans, &c. Mr. Phillips endeavored in a deprecating way to stop the noise, and at last, being partly successful, resuming he said:”—

Well, it is so. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I did not say that. That is what the gentleman who sits over here, Mr. Salstonstall of Salem, said.¹ (Laughter and applause, and cries of "No!" "No!") And General Quincy said so.² (Laughter.) He confessed that there was disorder enough in New Orleans to demand national interference. The United States troops went there, and, finding disorder, attempted to quell it. (Loud hisses and expressions of disgust.)

Now, gentlemen, be patient. You are American citizens, and you have grave questions to discuss. When the Government, when the nation is called upon to send troops into a State by its constitutional authority, to quell domestic violence, when are those troops to go out? I ask any constitutional lawyer to answer me, when are they to go out? Why, they are to go out, gentlemen, when the domestic disturbance is quelled, not before. (Cries of

swaying of the body which were inimitable grace, and were as much a part of the speech as the words he uttered, thus challenging a reply: but to no one of these challenges had any of them all a mind to respond. This bearing and manner of his, and the silence of those challenged, greatly increased the effect of his words, making deeper the impression that there was no answer to be given.

¹ Hon. Leverett Salstonstall said: "To deny that the state of things is turbulent, that assassination is known there, as it is not here; that the perpetrators of wrong are not punished, (would be to deny) a well-known fact. . . . That disorder is not disputed."

² See what General Quincy said as quoted in the Introduction.

“That is so!”) That is so exactly. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, consider a moment; I will be very quick. (Cries of “Well, you’d better!” “Hurry up!”)

The next question is, Who is to decide that point? (Voices, “John Brown!” “The people!” “The people!”) Agreed. Whenever the Legislature assembles in that State and says to the National Government, “We are at peace; go out,” why, out you go. When the Governor says to the national authority, “We are done with you; go,” they are bound to go. (A voice, “They will never go!”) In ordinary cases such would undoubtedly be the rule.

But suppose — now hear me, gentlemen, these are grave questions — but suppose, gentlemen, that neither the Governor nor the Legislature makes any such affirmation, how is the President to know when to go? He must exercise his own discretion. (Voices, “He don’t know anything!” “He has nothing to do with it!”)

Yes, gentlemen, these are stern questions of constitutional law, and they must be met. (Cries of “Good!” “Good!”) You do not want to send out of Faneuil Hall a series of resolutions that have no basis. (Voices, “Yes, they have!” “You are right there!”) I say, gentlemen, when the United States was once summoned into Louisiana constitutionally, and when neither the Governor nor the Legislature had given any voice as to whether they should go out or not, President Grant was bound to exercise his own discretion. He did so. (Cries of “No!”) You cannot blame him for that. A Democratic president would be bound to do the same thing. He keeps his troops there. He says, “In my conscientious opinion (cries of “Oh, ho!” “Oh, ho!”), responsible to the United States under my oath of office, I do not think the emergency is ended. The transaction is not finished;” and he keeps his troops there.

The year breaks, the fourth day of January comes, the Legislature assembles, the clerk proceeds to call the roll. Listen to me, gentlemen; here is the nub of the question. (Cries of "Go on!" "Brave it through!" &c.) The clerk proceeds to call the roll. It was his duty to do it. He was the only man in the State that could do it. Well, what takes place? (Cries of "Put your coat on!") What takes place, gentlemen? Mr. Schurz shall tell you. I will not quote any mean [*questionable] authority. Mr. Schurz shall tell you. He says:—

"While the result was being announced, a motion was made by a member (Mr. Billieu), to appoint L. A. Wiltz temporary speaker. That motion was put and declared carried,—not, however, by the clerk (says Mr. Schurz, confessing the whole difficulty). Mr. Wiltz took possession of the chair," &c. (Voices, "Read the whole of that speech!" "Nothing to do with it!" Cries of "Good!" "Good!")

Now, gentlemen, I have studied this,—hear me. I assert that Mr. Schurz well knew the significance of that fact, which he did not conceal. *The motion was not put by the clerk.* Now I assert—and if there be a parliamentary lawyer in this house, I challenge contradiction (applause and cries of "Good!" "Good!")—the moment that any gentleman in that hall undertook to make a motion not addressed to the clerk, and to decide it when the clerk had not put it, or pronounced it carried, and when another gentleman, not the clerk, went under that action and took the chair, that body ceased to be a legislature and became a mob. (Tremendous applause, hisses, cheers, and cries of "Good!" "Good!") "Dragged out five men from the Legislature of Louisiana." It was not the Louisiana Legislature, it was the New Orleans mob. (Tremendous applause and hisses.)

What does General Sheridan say? (Prolonged hisses,

and cries of "Order!" and "Hear him!" "He lies!" and an uproar so loud that the chairman had great difficulty in restoring order.)

Is there any man here that feels himself authorized [or worthy] to write "liar" on the brow of General Sheridan? (Cries of "No!" "No!" and "Yes!" "Yes!") Very well, then, listen to what General Sheridan says, recounting this event:—

"Mr. Vigers had not finished announcing the result, when one of the members, Mr. Billieu of La Fourche, nominated Mr. Wiltz for temporary Speaker. Mr. Vigers promptly declared the motion out of order at that time; when some one put the question, and amid cheers on the Democratic side of the House, Mr. Wiltz dashed onto the rostrum, pushed aside Mr. Vigers, seized the Speaker's chair and gavel, and declared himself Speaker. A protest against this arbitrary and unlawful proceeding was promptly made by members of the majority; but Mr. Wiltz paid no attention to these protests."¹

Now, gentlemen, conservators of law and order (laughter and applause), I will cite you a case in clear illustration of what I mean. It relates to Mr. John Quincy Adams,—not the one who spoke here, but, he will allow

¹ Foot-note by Mr. Phillips.

The report of the Congressional Sub-Committee, since printed [in the same paper with the report of this meeting], and made evidently in the interest of the White League, confirms General Sheridan's statement. It says:—

"On the first call of the roll, 102 members answered to their names. It is claimed by the Republicans, and we believe conceded by the Democrats, that 50 of those answering to their names were Democrats, and 52 Republicans. The instant the clerk finished the roll-call, several members rose to their feet, but the floor was successfully held by Mr. Billieu, who said that he nominated L. A. Wiltz as temporary chairman. The clerk suggested that the legal motion was to elect a Speaker. Mr. Billieu himself, paying no attention to the clerk, proceeded hurriedly to put his own motion, which was received by loud yeas and followed by loud nays, and declared it carried. Mr. Wiltz sprang instantly to the platform," &c.

me to say, a much wiser man than himself. (Laughter and applause.) Well, gentlemen, in 1839 the National House of Representatives at Washington could not organize. The clerk of the House held the list in his hand, and he refused for three days to receive a motion. Three days he sat there; no matter who addressed him he refused to receive a motion, and the National Government was checkmated. Any of you old enough will remember it, remember the impatience and disgust of the nation, under the disorder reigning at Washington. But there was not a man in the House of Representatives that saw how it could be remedied. (A voice, "Where was Grant?" Laughter.) Governor Wise, of Virginia, said once, "If I had the choice of John Quincy Adams's epitaph, I would write this on the tombstone, 'I will make the motion myself.'"

THE PRESIDENT. "*Put* the motion."

MR. PHILLIPS. Yes, "put the motion." What does he refer to? How was it? Why, on the fourth day, when the House stood checkmated, amazed, confounded, no man knowing how to get out of the difficulty, Adams rose and said: "I move that the clerk proceed to call the roll." The clerk refused. A stupefied Senator said to Mr. Adams, "How do you propose to have the motion put?" There was not a man there who could conceive an outrage so gross as that in Louisiana: but Adams, tottering forward to the stand, said with sublime audacity, "I mean to put the motion myself." (Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause.)

Now, gentlemen, what does that scene prove? What does that three days acquiescence of the country, that three days waiting of the House of Representatives, that astonishment at the audacity of Adams when he was about to break the law, seeking its essence at the sacrifice of its form, prove? Why, all that proves how inexorable the

rigor of the parliamentary rule, that while the clerk is using decent manners, [* fitting despatch and behaving himself,] no man can put a motion in the House but himself. [*On any other theory the patience of the House was cowardly sloth; Mr. Adams's long waiting was ignorant stupidity. But grant the iron rigor of this parliamentary rule, and the submission of the House is honorable obedience to law, and Mr. Adams's final step rises to the level of sublime audacity. As when, in half a dozen great crises of history, some patriot statesman has "taken the responsibility" of breaking through the entanglements of law to save justice and the nation; so Mr. Adams wrenched that legislative machine into running order. That National House of Representatives waited *three days* before even Adams thought such law-breaking justifiable. This New Orleans mob did not allow the clerk to finish his announcement of the results of the roll-call.] Such being the case, the moment that gentleman, Mr. Wiltz, under that illegal motion, took the chair—I challenge any legal gentleman here to answer me—that was a mob. (Cries of "Good!" loud applause and hisses.)

I have had occasion to study this question, Mr. Chairman. We had a scene of that kind in this city in December, 1860, when Mr. Murray Howe and Mr. Richard Fay, acting exactly the same part in the drama that Mr. Wiltz did, entered Tremont Temple. They came forward, leaped upon the platform, and, brushing aside the proper authorities at a public meeting, said, "We will run this meeting," and Fay said, "I am chairman." That was a mob and nothing else. (Hisses.) Yes, that was a mob; but no more so than this gathering in the New Orleans State House.

Very well, what was left in Louisiana under the law? The Legislature was fugitive from its own hall. A mob in the eye of the law—answer me if I am wrong (ap-

plause, "You are wrong!" and hisses) — was in possession of the State House. There was nothing left of a government in Louisiana but Governor Kellogg. (Hisses.) Hiss if you please, but produce the master of parliamentary law that will deny one of my propositions. (Loud applause.) [*The Senate had organized; the House had not. It takes both to make a legislature. Consequently there was no Legislature for Kellogg to "convene."] What was left? The Governor of the State was alone left; and he said, as he was bound to say, to the United States troops who were then in charge of the peace of the State — they had gone there in September, and as the President had not seen fit to withdraw them, they were lawfully there. My old friend, Henry Paine, if he were here, would not deny it. ("Good!" and applause.) Very well, he sends for the soldiers, and says to them, "Turn that mob out of the State House." (Applause, cries of "Good!" "Good!" and hisses.) He had a right to say it, "Turn that mob out of the State House."¹ (A voice, "They could n't do it!") And I say to-day, — having for twenty years studied that very point of constitutional and parliamentary law, — I say that General De Trobriand and President Grant complied with every technical requisite of the constitutional law of the United States. (Tremendous and prolonged applause, and hisses.)

That, gentlemen, is for the lawyers. That is for the men who undertake to say that, on the principles of the Constiti-

¹ Foot-note by Mr. Phillips.

It is objected to this view, that the Governor did, in fact, only order the removal of five illegal members. Granted. I only state his legal authority and position. He had a right to choose his own method of using that authority. He could either sweep the whole mob out of the State House, or only remove the most objectionable part of it — in hopes that, perhaps, the Democratic White League members would then join with the men of order, and organize the House of Representatives. He had the full right to choose his method.

tution, General Grant has overstepped his power. (Cries of "He has!" "He has!") I challenge any man with a legal reputation to deny my assertion (loud cries of "Evarts!" "Evarts!" from all parts of the hall) on the principles of parliamentary law. Mr. Evarts cannot change facts. Mr. Evarts, of course, has presented his personal views of this constitutional question. (A voice, "Ain't he a lawyer?") Yes, he is a lawyer. (Cries, "And the best one in the country!") Yes, he is a good court lawyer; but I am not aware that he has the slightest claim to be considered an authority in constitutional or parliamentary law. Mr. Adams is a lawyer; Mr. Quincy is a lawyer; they are all lawyers; but I say not one single one of them has covered this point in the case, has he? (Applause, and cries of "Yes, they have!" "No, they have n't!" and "Tell the truth, Wendell!") Did any one of them cover this point in the case? ("Yes!") Which of them?

Now, gentlemen, I want to say one more word on the substance of the matter. (A great uproar. Cries of "Hear him!" "Sit down!" "Go on!" "Cut it short!" "Sit down!" "Free speech!" and applause and hisses.) The question whether President Grant (hisses) was justified in his action, whether in using his constitutional power with discretion, he used it wisely, honestly (cries of "Oh!" "No!" "No!" and laughter), — that depends upon the state of affairs in Louisiana; that depends on what, when he got to Louisiana under that constitutional call, he found there. (A voice, "He had no business there!") [*Did he find there the insubordination and "domestic violence," which Governor Kellogg alleged to exist? What is the evidence?]

Now, gentlemen, the first speaker on this stand was our distinguished fellow-citizen, General Quincy. What did he say? He said he "left the live fire-brands and ashes of quarrel and turmoil and bloodshed when he left New

Orleans." That is his testimony. (Voices, "He was n't there!" "He did not say so!") Well, General Sheridan was out there with him (a voice, "That was in 1866!") and saw these fire-brands; and now that same General Sheridan has gone back there. (A voice, "After nine years!") Mr. Quiney resides in Boston; and he says, although he "left fire-brands and hot ashes and discord in Louisiana, he does not believe there are any there to-day."¹ But General Sheridan, who has gone back there, says there are. Which will you believe? (Shouts of "Sheridan!" and yells. A voice, "We don't believe Sheridan!" Applause.) Is not the man who has gone down and examined a better witness than the man who — staying here, a thousand miles off — tells you he left that state of things, but thinks it is not there now? (Great uproar, applause, and cries of "Sit down!" "How about the Committee?" "Oh, I am sick of you!" "You have spoken long enough!") Will you give me quiet for a single moment? (Cries of "Casey!" "Packard!")²

Men of Boston, I am not here to defend the administration. (Voices, "You are!" "You are!" "You are paid for it!") If these resolutions are passed — (Great uproar.) Men of Boston, men of Boston, if these resolutions are passed, they will carry consternation and terror into the house of every negro in Louisiana. (A voice, "We will pass them all!") Applause, hisses, groans, laughter, cheers and cries, loud and long.) They will carry comfort to

¹ It is evident from this that Mr. Phillips did not catch the full purport of General Quiney's words, for he did say "that the smouldering embers . . . are still alive," and more to the same effect, — his words entirely supporting Mr. Phillips' contention that the disorders in Louisiana warranted the keeping of the United States troops there. See the whole passage quoted in the Introduction.

² Casey was Collector of the Port of New Orleans, and Packard was United States Marshal for that district. Both were obnoxious to a large part of the people.

every assassin (a voice, "Not a bit of it!") in New Orleans. ("Oh!" and loud hisses and applause.) My anxiety is not for Washington. I don't care who is President. My anxiety is for the hunted, tortured, robbed, murdered population, white and black, of the Southern States (a voice, "That's played out!") whom you are going to consign to the hands of their oppressors. (Hisses.) If you pass these resolutions— (Cries of "We will!" "We will!") If you pass these resolutions— (Renewed cries of "We will!" "We will!") If you pass these resolutions, gentlemen (loud cries of "We will!" "We will!")— I say it in the presence of God Almighty (cries of "Sh!" "Sh!" "Oh, ho!" "Oh, ho!") hisses and voices, "He don't know you!" "Whom you don't believe in!")— the blood of hundreds of blacks, and hundreds of whites, will be on your skirts before the first day of January next. (Loud laughter and hisses.)

[* Look at the evidence. President Grant's message affirms that "lawlessness, turbulence, and bloodshed" cover the whole history of reconstructed Louisiana. If he is a selfish politician, it would be more profitable for him to paint it all peace, and so gain support of the now triumphant white race. If he loves fame, to claim that he has really pacified the South would be the cap-sheaf of his glory. He has no temptation to exaggerate on the side of Louisiana disorder. General Sheridan, no partisan politician—a new observer—confirms the President's statement. One speaker here ran a parallel between Boston in 1770 and New Orleans now, quoting eloquent words of Samuel Adams. Well, Governor Warmouth, so-called, killed his man in the streets of New Orleans the other day. I don't remember that Samuel Adams or John Hancock engaged in any such freaks here in 1770, which shows, I think, rather a different atmosphere prevailing in the two cities. Democratic Congressmen tell us that in

Alabama, where this same White League exists, no Republican member of Congress could safely show his face. If the archives of this administration could be laid open, I believe the nation would be amazed to learn how often military power had been invoked in Southern States to save life and prevent outbreaks. I have myself had both letters and persons under my own roof enough to substantiate all the President's charges. The very haste with which these White Leaguers sprang to work in that Legislative Hall, before any member could rightfully put a motion, shows conspiracy; shows that they well knew they were in a minority; and that only by tricks and violence could they manage to get possession of the *form* of a legislature, and overawe their opponents. Their illegal violence is confession that they knew they had no legal means and no right to control the House *if the law was strictly observed*. The fact that Congress, after two years' effort, has been unable to fathom the bottomless muddle of Louisiana politics, is proof of the "lawlessness and turbulence" which Grant charges. It shows clearly enough, without further evidence, that the State can never be pacified without help from outside.

One speaker here to-day urged Congress to order a new election in Louisiana. With all due submission to the opinions of those Congressmen who advocate that course, I emphatically deny its constitutionality. If Louisiana is a State, as is claimed, then Congress has no right to enter its limits by any such legislation. The only way, I affirm it most emphatically, *the only way* out of this confusion is for the Executive — acting under the authority which Kellogg's call, in September, gives it — to keep the peace of the State, no matter how long, until the orderly men of the State are able, under such protection, to establish good government there. I do not believe that any other way of bringing Louisiana into order is known to our sys-

tem of government. Gentlemen may criticise and hold up their hands in hypocritical horror ; learned Germans may come over as Senatorial missionaries to instruct us in our own business : but I defy any man to show any other constitutional method. I know all such military interference is dangerous. But the fault rests on those whose crimes make it necessary. Of course it is dangerous. So are all storms.]

I know why I came here — (A voice, "You came to make a row!") Laughter, applause, and hissing.) My clients, my clients — Hisses, and so much confusion that the speaker could not be heard. The President stepped to his side and said, "Hear him, hear him! Order, order, order!" (A voice cried, "Mesmerize him!") Mr. Phillips finally proceeded : —

Gentlemen, you know perfectly well, every one of you, that this nation called four millions of negroes into citizenship to save itself. (Applause.) It never called them for their own sakes. It called them to save itself. (Cries of "Hear!" "Hear!") And to-day, those resolutions, offered in Faneuil Hall, condemn the President of the United States (a voice, "Sit down!"), and would take from him the power to protect the millions you have just lifted into danger. (Cries of "Played out!" "Sit down!" &c.) You won't let him protect them. (Cries of "No!") What more contemptible object than a nation which, for its own selfish purpose, summons four millions of negroes to such a position of peril, and then leaves them defenceless? What more pitiable object than the President of such a nation, vested with full power to protect these hunted men (and you will not let him protect them), if he yield to this contemptible clamor, and leave them defenceless?

Well, gentlemen, I have done all I intended to do. I only wanted to record the protest of one citizen of Boston (uproarious applause) against that series of resolutions.

(Hisses.) Other men recorded it by their absence, and by their refusal to sign that Call. (Renewed applause, and cries of "Question, please !") I chose to record mine in your presence, in this very hall and under this very roof where I have so often labored to bring these colored men into the very condition which makes them the object of the White League's fear and hatred, and constitutes their present danger. (Cries of "Yes, that's it!" and laughter.) I should deem myself wanting, in my duty as an old Abolitionist (loud hissing), and to the President of the United States (applause), if I did not utter every word in my power (cries of "Question !") against allowing a set of resolutions to go out from this hall that will make the negro and the white Republican more exposed to danger and more defenceless.

"A great deal of noise and confusion here ensued, during which three cheers were given for Mr. Phillips."

At once Col. Henry Lee, who had read the resolutions, came to the front and spoke briefly, practically conceding the correctness of Mr. Phillips's criticism, that the meeting was not called by Boston, by allowing that the Call might have read, "Boston and vicinity."

Then a resolution was introduced praising the administration, and thus neutralizing the resolutions already read.

Then a man came forward from the floor who was so unknown that the President of the meeting had to ask him his name, and poured out a bitter diatribe against Mr. Phillips.

Then the resolution of praise of the President of the United States was declared voted down, though a multitude voted for it ; and the resolutions of censure were declared sustained, though a multitude voted against them, and the meeting immediately dissolved.

My neighbor, the judge, insists that the vote against the

resolutions was manifestly heavier than that for them ; "though of course," he added, "the President had to declare them carried, as that was what the meeting was for." Also my other neighbor who was present supports the judge's statement. Moreover, in Austin's Life of Phillips the same position is taken.

The conduct of one person in this affair merits high commendation. The President of the meeting, Hon. William Gray, showed himself fully deserving of the title which designates him as a nobleman. Placed in a position of great difficulty, he exhibited the traits of a true gentleman, a courageous presiding officer, a genuine hero. Though his sympathies were with the promoters of the meeting, yet he rose above the partisan, and became the ideal presiding officer,— the man of fair mind and the steadfast purpose that even an opponent should have his just right. So with admirable faithfulness, clear through to the end, he repeatedly exercised all his force, and with measurable success, to secure for Mr. Phillips the opportunity to present his views. Hence, I utter the highest word that can be spoken in his honor, when I say, He was worthy of Faneuil Hall. As the speech of Mr. Phillips was the only utterance on that occasion having the pith of great value in it which makes it worthy of remembrance, so the action of Mr. Gray as President, in extending to Mr. Phillips the opportunity to speak, and in steadfastly maintaining it with strenuous energy to the very end, well deserves to be cherished in memory while the speech itself shall continue to be read.

EDITORIAL REMARKS ON THE OCCASION.

WE believe that to all persons who shall ever care for Mr. Phillips, the following quotations from the Boston press of the next day will be specially interesting.

The opening portion of the editorial leader in the "Advertiser" for the next morning was as follows:—

"Not since the war times, certainly, have the walls of Faneuil Hall contained such a meeting as that of yesterday. From noon until the adjournment, at a quarter past three, it was filled with a profoundly interested and sometimes intensely excited audience, standing full close for comfort. The places of those whom business called away before the conclusion were taken by others coming in, and when the question on the resolutions was put, the galleries were still full, and the large area of the floor was crowded from the speaker's stand to the door."

In the introduction to the "Advertiser's" report of the meeting occurred the following paragraphs:—

"The meeting in Faneuil Hall at noon yesterday, called to 'protest against the late military interference with the organization of the Legislature of Louisiana,' was the occasion of a demonstration such as has not been seen in that historic edifice since the war. . . . Although the day was cold, and the hall so chilly that none could be comfortable without an overcoat, there was a large attendance. At noon the hall was comfortably filled, and when the meeting was called to order, ten minutes later, there was no standing room left. Wendell Phillips was then sitting on (It was behind. Ed.) the railing of the left-hand gallery, at the upper end of the hall, in full view of and facing the audience."

“ He (Phillips) descended to the platform and delivered a half-hour’s speech. . . . He was continually interrupted by noisy demonstrations, and was many times obliged for several moments to cease speaking. One was forcibly reminded of the scenes that occurred in the old time war meetings, amid which the same now veteran orator stood cool and undismayed. He displayed not the slightest impatience or displeasure, but calmly and determinedly waited till the excited audience had uttered its roars, and then quietly proceeded with his remarks. He was followed by Mr. Henry Lee in a few quiet and pleasant remarks.”

The “ Post’s ” leader next morning contained the following :—

“ In the surging crowd in and about Faneuil Hall there was yesterday seen significant proof of the intense interest with which the citizens of Boston regard the Louisiana usurpation. The meeting was large and representative, both on the platform and on the floor, and notably free, so far as the announced purpose of the assembly was concerned, from any factional spirit. Republicans and Democrats met only as citizens to protest against a common wrong, and a distinguishing feature of the occasion was the earnestness with which gentlemen prominently identified with the former party used their voice and influence in condemnation of Executive tyranny in Louisiana:

“ The generosity which accorded Mr. Phillips a hearing in response to the call made upon him, was not disappointed in the result. His invective lacked nerve and logic. He descended to petty quibbles and personalities, and was sufficiently answered by the contrast of the other speeches.”

From the Introduction by the “ Post ” to its report of the meeting :—

“ One of the most remarkable meetings held in this city for a generation was that which convened in Faneuil Hall at noon yesterday in response to a call for an assemblage of citizens,

irrespective of party, who wished to protest against the recent interference of the military of the United States with the Legislature of Louisiana. . . .

“Wendell Phillips, from the commencement of the proceedings, occupied a conspicuous seat in the front row of the left gallery near the platform, and when the address of Mr. Adams had been completed, calls were made for him from the floor. He did nothing more than than to smile a response. But when his name had been called at intervals during the next hour, and when, at the conclusion of the address of Mr. Morse, the chairman invited any one in the audience to speak, Mr. Phillips arose in his place, and, accepting a request to take the platform, spoke for a few minutes. The speaker’s manner was not on this occasion bland and smooth as when facing a lyceum audience, nor did his words flow with the measured, studied emphasis which most hearers have admired in him. On the contrary, his sentences were uneven, his delivery was somewhat excited, and there was that in his face and voice which showed that the mingled hisses, questions, and other interruptions which came from a part of the audience, and the evident disapproval with which his words were received by many others, was by no means pleasant to contemplate. When he had taken his seat, and when the enting replies of Colonel Lee and Mr. Hamilton had caused the old hall to echo with round after round of applause, Mr. Phillips’s discomfiture was still more painfully manifest.”

The “Traveller” had the following as a part of its editorial on the occasion:—

“The speech of Wendell Phillips, made at a late hour, and amid rude interruptions, completely answered some of the boldest assertions and most plausible arguments of the regular speakers, satisfying all thinking and reasonable men that the liberties of the people of Louisiana were made secure rather than endangered by the acts this meeting was nominally called to condemn.”

The "Transcript" was so impressed with the pith and force and pertinence of the speech, that, almost apologizing for the fragmentariness of its Friday afternoon account, it gave a full, verbatim report of it on Saturday, as much as to say, "This was *the* speech of that occasion, and uttered the true word that was required." Also, as showing where it stood and with emphasis, it gave a column editorial against the positions of the meeting, with arguments which are unanswerable. One can hardly help thinking that every one of those who promoted it must have slept that Saturday night on a pillow of thorns.

The "Index," a weekly paper, in its next issue, January 21, in a signed editorial, said: —

"Through the voice of Wendell Phillips, a voice always heard on the side of true liberty, the real sentiments of Boston found expression. Point by point Mr. Phillips followed out the argument, repeatedly calling on the White League lawyers to controvert him. Silently they deserted the platform; and when at length the orator had finished, the gentleman who had offered the resolutions declared to the audience, 'I feel like saying, "God be merciful to me a sinner.'" A jest if you please, but none the less an inspiration. Faneuil Hall was redeemed; the good name of the city was saved from dishonor; and the organization of a permanent Boston White League was indefinitely postponed.

" RICHARD P. HALLOWELL."

THE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE CASE.

THE action of the three great meetings in Boston, New York, and St. Louis was all based upon two assumptions: the first, that the Assembly was legally organized by the so-called election of Mr. Wiltz; and the second, that the United States troops went into the Assembly and took out the five men by military authority, of military initiative and decision. Mr. Phillips demonstrated the falsity of both these assumptions.

First, he demonstrated that the Assembly was not organized, by showing that the putting of the motion by Mr. Billieu was wholly illegal, which made it and all the proceedings under it null and void. A brief examination will show just why it was null and void.

In a parliamentary government there are certain forms established by law through which the personality of the administration is renewed. By these forms it is required that those in office shall lawfully transfer in due form the authority and power of the government to those who have been lawfully elected to receive them. This lawful transference was the matter at issue in New Orleans in the case of the Assembly, or Lower House of the Legislature.

Now it is a vital principle of parliamentary procedure that the government already existing must have charge of the formation of the new body, as the only way by which that body, in the very act of forming, may be taken up into and become a constituent part of the government, and so the continuity of the government be preserved. This is in the nature of the case. To this end it is vital that the government should be present in the person of its lawfully

appointed officer, and have full charge of the proceedings. In the case of the Assembly, that officer is the clerk, who, as lawfully appointed and sworn, is the embodiment of the government, present and in charge. The clerk is the living link of union through which the new Assembly that is about to be constituted, in the very act of being constituted, will be joined into the government already existent, receive of its life, and become a part of it.

Such being the representative character and function of the clerk, and those who have the right to become members of the Assembly being convened according to law, the following are his duties:—

First, he is to call the meeting to order, which being gained, he is forthwith to call the roll. The roll is the official list, made under law, of those persons who have been legally certified to as having been elected to become members of the new body. Without the list, it cannot be known who have the right to become members. Hence no persons but those whose names are on the roll can take part in the formation of the body, because the list is the legal title to a place there. Even if by error, or fraud and wrong, names are there which ought not to be, or are not there which ought to be, still for that occasion the roll is final. All questions of error or wrong must be settled at another time.

As the clerk calls the roll, the persons must answer to their names, to show who of the lawfully elected persons are present.

Next, a majority of those whose names are on the roll must be present to constitute a quorum; the clerk must so declare, and then must "await any motion." In some States the members are sworn in at this point; but in Louisiana the next step is to affect a temporary organization.

The only motion now in order is concerning a presiding

officer. Should one candidate be named, or more than one, in any event the clerk puts the motion. By whatever method the result is to be arrived at, the clerk must put the motion for the reasons already given: for when the clerk, as the officer lawfully appointed, puts the motion, and action is taken under the motion by which a person is elected, and the clerk declares the person elected, in making that declaration the clerk officially imparts to the body the legal breath of life and forms the organization. The person so elected becomes the lawful presiding officer to whom the clerk must turn over the gavel, as the sign and instrument of authority, and the power of the clerk then ceases, while up to that time it has been vital and paramount. Now all this is in the nature of the case, and is essential to parliamentary government. Moreover, it has all been wrought out through centuries of struggle, in storm and stress and multitudinous experience, by the English-speaking peoples, and is a heritage of inestimable value, to be strenuously preserved. This heritage the action of the Wiltz part of the Louisiana Legislature wholly tended to destroy.

The principles involved will be more evident if we examine the case in question. The act of Mr. Billieu in putting his own motion was void (as it would have been to put any motion), because he was, as yet, only a private citizen, having no official position at all, though having the legal right to come into an official position, and hence, by the absence of official life in himself, being incapable of imparting such life to others. For, as it has been heretofore shown, in the nature of the case, only as the lawfully appointed and sworn officer, in whom the governmental life was present so that he was the embodied government, put the motion and made the official declaration that the motion was carried, and the certain person elected, could the governmental life pass to the one elected and to those

who elected him, so that they, as an organized body, could enter into union with the government as an organic part of it. The breath of official declaration is the breath of legal life to the body, which can only come from the one who has that life, namely, in the Assembly, the lawfully appointed officer, the clerk. Mr. Billieu, not being such officer, nor any official at all as yet, but only a private citizen, did not have, and could not have, any breath of legal life in himself, and so could not impart any to the body. This fact made his act, in putting his own motion and declaring it carried, a mere idle breath, a legal nothing, an act altogether null and void. And hence all that was done afterwards under his act was equally null and void. Hence Mr. Wiltz was not chairman ; there was no chairman ; there was no organization ; there was only chaos, with a chaos mind on the part of those who made the chaos, that could not know itself, — a chaos mind in a delirium, fancying itself to be in order.

In this plain view of the case it is hard to see how so able a man as the recent Mr. John Quincy Adams could have taken the position he did, even under the flooding influence of political passion. He said, "Even if the prevailing faction pressed to the very edge of the law, yet they respected the law." How could he say this, when their action was utterly lawless, as we have just pointed out in detail, having no law for it, but being against the nature of the case and every element of law involved in it ? And this remark covers the ground of all the speakers and all the meetings.

Second, Mr. Phillips demonstrated that the other assumption had no foundation in fact, but "that General De Trobriand and President Grant complied with every technical requisite of the constitutional law of the United States." There is additional evidence, which he did not quote, which no one will question. It is the testimony

of Mr. Wiltz himself, in his report to the Federal Government, made in his own behalf, concerning the events of that January fourth. Describing what took place when the five men were arrested and taken away, he gives the following:—

WILTZ. "Are these members (the five) to be ejected?"

GENERAL DE TROBRIAND. "I am but a soldier. There are my orders. I cannot enter into a consideration of that question."

"The General further stated that he was under instructions to obey the orders of Governor Kellogg."

Such testimony is conclusive, and leaves nothing more to be needed. The military were the police force of Governor Kellogg, under his orders and doing his bidding; the civil authority was paramount and directive, and not a phrase of the constitutional law of the United States was violated by their presence and action.

In view of this state of the case, what becomes of the fierce cry, "What right had soldiers of the United States to determine who should sit in the Legislature of a State?" They did not determine. The Governor, the civil authority, determined, and nobody else did. All that the soldiers did was to obey the orders received from their lawful, civil superior. Moreover, what they were used for was to keep the peace. The arrest of the five men was an act of keeping the peace, because every step in the movement to seat them had been a breach of the peace.

The confused state of mind of many excellent citizens on this whole matter, and the complete error into which they fell, is illustrated by the contradiction which General Quincy made in two parts of his speech. He first said:

"It was never pretended that previous instructions from the White House directed the expulsion from the Legislature of such persons claiming to be members as Governor Kellogg should designate,"—thus conceding that it was

he who did designate those who were to be removed. But after a little General Quincy said:—

“ For when he (President Grant) tells us that no person was ejected who had a right to a seat, he simply indorses the decision of General De Trobriand’s bayonets. Whether the decision of the bayonet was in accordance with the facts or not nobody cares. The crime was the assumption of jurisdiction.” Now as General Quincy had just before allowed that it was Governor Kellogg who had decided and designated who were to be expelled, by his own showing the “decision” was not made by “General De Trobriand’s bayonets;” and when he alleges that it was they who did so decide and designate, he contradicts his own words spoken just before. But he also contradicts the plain and indubitable facts in the case: for all the testimony shows that the whole position and action of the troops in this affair were those of a police force acting under the direction of their superior civil officer, the Governor of the State, Kellogg. Also, there was no “assumption of jurisdiction” on the part of the troops or any military officer. The whole “assumption of jurisdiction” was by the Governor, and the troops simply acted in obedience to his orders, as General De Trobriand declared in terms to Mr. Wiltz, and the latter impliedly allowed.

At this point it may very properly be asked, In view of the above argument, how can the action of ex-President Adams be legally justified?

For answer, it should first be said that his action was “law-breaking,” as Mr. Phillips explicitly declared.

But it should next be said, and at once, that it was a right “law-breaking,” because it was an action according to another law, which it was fit not only but also a duty to act under, in order to meet an exigency which must be met, and for which no statute had made provision. For the law could not imagine that such an officer as the clerk

could be so false to his trust as to refuse to do his sworn duty. But when such an exigency had arisen, then the preservation of government not only permitted but required a reverting to the first principles of primary action in the organization of democratic society. We have all, doubtless, from childhood up, been familiar with instances of this primary action, when it happened something as follows :

The citizens being gathered for some purpose which required organization, and there was none, one of the elder and more influential of those present would rise and call the meeting to order. Then hats would come off, the buzzing sound of conversation would cease, and all would be in order at once. Then this elder citizen would move that So-and-so, naming a citizen, be chairman of the meeting ; the motion would be seconded ; the mover would put his own motion ; it would be voted ; and he would declare it carried. Then he would invite the one elected to come forward and take the chair ; he would do so ; and the meeting thus passed from chaos to organized order. Now it was to this principle of primary organization, which is simplicity itself, and with which Mr. Adams must have been familiar from childhood, that he reverted when he said, "I mean to put the motion myself." He was by far the oldest and most eminent person among those elected as members of the House ; his action organized them according to the way of primitive simplicity ; and all the other departments of the government accepting the action, imparted to it official sanction and life, and joined it in with the government as a part of itself. But nothing except an otherwise insurmountable exigency made his course allowable. Yet that exigency, becoming fully manifested, did make his "law-breaking" course not only allowable, but a lawful necessity. Thus did Mr. Adams break the law to preserve the government, "seeking its essence at the sacrifice of its form," just as Mr. Phillips said.

But there was nothing of this sort at New Orleans, and those, like Colonel Codman, who quoted the action of Mr. Adams, to justify the Wiltz faction, did so at the expense of their soundness of mind. Every form of the law was being scrupulously observed, the clerk was in the very act of performing his full duty, the Wiltz faction of fifty were having every legal right which the Republican faction of fifty-two were having. So far as action in that hall concerning organization was concerned (and nothing else could be lawfully considered there at that time), everything was being done strictly according to law and in order. Such being the case, the Wiltz faction had no more right to do what they did do, than they had a right to organize an armed band and come by violence, *ri et armis*, as the law phrase is, and drive out the others and establish themselves instead. Hence that faction were wholly law-breakers in what they did ; their law-breaking was altogether null and void ; their organization was a legal nothing ; and they were a " New Orleans mob," just as Mr. Phillips said. And it was the null-and-void action of this mob that the citizens of Boston were called together to defend in that meeting in Faneuil Hall, and which those eminent citizens who promoted the meeting did defend as if it were lawful and right, — earnestly thinking it was so, when it was altogether not so, so deluded may the mind of man become when befogged by partisan views of the condition of affairs.

In view of the above considerations, the contention of Mr. Phillips is fully sustained on both points. He swept out from under the feet of the meeting every particle of foundation on which the promoters of it had based their action. His warning words, " You do not want to send out of Faneuil Hall a series of resolutions that have no basis," were ominous of the reality. The resolutions which were sent out had no " basis" in fact. The whole view of those

who supported them was a phantom in air, and the mountains of their rhetoric were only clouds. That so many able men could be so misled as to believe that the “unsubstantial fabric of a vision” of complete error in their imaginations was solid substance, only shows how the passions and prejudices of men can flood their minds with false views and mislead their judgments. Mr. Phillips never has been answered. An answer never has been attempted. Col. Henry Lee, speaking right after him, said, “Nobody proposes to answer him; in fact he is generally unanswerable;” and even if the words were spoken in sarcasm, they were none the less soberly and wholly true.

There is evidence that the people of the country began to find out the real state of the case even before the Faneuil Hall meeting was held. On the morning of that day when it was held, there appeared in the “Boston Herald,” under the title of “Men and Things,” an item which shows this. It was as follows:—

“There is an impression among the white conservatives of Louisiana that the plan for seizing upon the organization of the House by Wiltz and his companions was ill advised and badly managed. The irregularity of their proceedings is the thing that befogs the question of military interference more than anything else.”

This virtually gives away the whole case, concedes all that Mr. Phillips claimed, and allows that there was no ground for the meeting. Whence it follows that those eager orators who voiced the meeting were very earnest about something that was not so.

CRITICAL ESTIMATE.

THE career of Wendell Phillips as a reformer began in Faneuil Hall with a battle, and thirty-seven years afterwards closed in Faneuil Hall with a battle; and the object of both battles, and of all the long years of struggle between, was freedom,—especially for the negro, but also, and all the while, freedom and uplift for all mankind. That the speech given herewith closed his work as a reformer, as distinctly as the Lovejoy speech opened it, a survey of his career seems to make plain. Literally, it was his last battle, and, literally, it was one of his greatest victories, in some aspects it may have been his very greatest: for it was more than a mere battle of will and a victory of power; it was a great forensic argument on a vital question of parliamentary law, affecting the foundations of government, in which he stood alone, wholly right, and settled the case in this nation for all coming time.

On this occasion all his powers seemed to move at their highest bent. That massive presence, that dauntless courage, that immeasurable vigor, that lofty resolution, that energy and effectiveness of action were all of such degree that he never appeared more colossal and masterful than he did there, as he breasted the waves of that storm-tossed assemblage, and dashed them all aside. Well spoke they the right word to his heart who cried out to him from the assembly, “Go on!” “Brave it through!” I hear the words even now sounding down from that far away time, “Brave it through!” That was he, Great Heart, that was he, “Brave it through!” Ay, ay, and he did;

he did not fail, he did not quail, he did not turn aside. Dauntless and strong and right, he braved it through, and triumphed over all. When he arose to speak, the meeting was chiefly with the promoters, though many were with him. When he finished, he had turned the meeting upside down; he had mastered the greater part of that vast concourse of people, and they undoubtedly voted with him, instead of with the rest of the speakers.

It is only by contemplating such a mighty manifestation of power on the part of Mr. Phillips, in which his stature is measured against the background of such a crowd, that one can gain an adequate sense of the immensity of the personality of this greatest of American orators. The effect which he produced was sententiously summed up by the doctor in the brief saying, "He killed the meeting." The vote, as it was really given, showed that he had. And as it appeared to this on-looker, so it appears to one looking back over what happened. "He killed the meeting;" and Boston knew it before nightfall of that Saturday after.

But hardly, if any, less than the energy of his action was the penetration, clear-sight, and right-sight of his mind. His eye pierced to the very pith and substance of the case. He saw accurately the "nub of the question," to use his own phrase; he discerned the whole reality of the matter just as it was; and he set it forth in white noon-light, and in such correct array as left no answer possible.

The message of the President, with all the help of his advisers, was not equal to Mr. Phillips's statement. Not one of the speakers at the meeting covered the vital point, lawyers though they were; and throughout the land there appeared to be but one journal, at least of national scope, that had discerned it. A foremost Democratic paper of Chicago had boldly said that the Wiltz faction was the

one which appeared to be the party of violence and law-breaking. So Mr. Phillips stood, on that chill, winter afternoon, almost as much alone in the land as he stood alone amid the crowds in Faneuil Hall, seeing the right exactly, declaring that right to the full boldly, amid "such contradiction of sinners against himself," and so illuminating the whole situation.

For more than three hours on that winter day, the people stood a solid throng, filling Faneuil Hall full, and listening as speaker after speaker poured forth such thought as he had on a great, national question. But all the rest were merely the opportunity and setting for this one speech,—all the rest were cross-eyed misapprehension, twisted error, empty fancy, idle breath, combined into an event so that one voice might speak worthily the true word which should give light to every one who desired to see the way. Except for that word,—this speech of Wendell Phillips,—that occasion would have fallen into utter oblivion; but now it will ever be a live, historic fact, because in it there came that magnificent manifestation of his power in the utterance of the true and needed word which he spoke.

During a call on Senator Henry Wilson, many years ago, Wendell Phillips was spoken of, and the Senator told the following anecdote:—

"I was talking," he said, "with a gentleman in Boston, and the question arose, 'Why does not Mr. Phillips, at least once a year, prepare a thorough, well-ordered law argument on some great question of society, and present it to the public, the same as Charles Sumner does?' The reply was that he was not able to construct such an argument."

The speech we are considering is the refutation of that view. Not worked out like hammered gold by the light of the midnight lamp, but struck out all at once in the

heat of a tremendous struggle, it is a great law argument on a fundamental question of parliamentary procedure in the conduct of our National Government, in which Mr. Phillips set forth the true principles involved in the case in right and orderly array, and so established just judgment clearly, accurately, completely, masterfully. He was not indeed a Senator of the nation, but he was the Tribune of the nation; and the question in hand was one of the nation's life and conduct of affairs, which he altogether adequately met. Hence one may truly say that in the importance of the occasion and the greatness of the power and lucidity of expression with which the principles involved were presented, this address, as a forensic utterance, deserves to be compared with Webster's reply to Hayne. It annihilated the opposite side in a struggle on a great national question of constitutional law, just as Webster's reply did.

That the career of Wendell Phillips as a reformer should have opened in a battle in the "Cradle of Liberty," and more than a generation after should have closed in a battle where it opened, came not by any planning of the mind and will of man, but came in the purpose and ordering of that higher Power who guides the stars in their courses in the sky, and the ways of men in their courses on the earth. And it was an ideal rounding of that grand career, leaving nothing in the field of reform that the heart to which he was dearest could ask for more.

REV. JESSE H. JONES, HON. J. Q. A. BRACKETT, JOHN LATHAM,
PRESIDENT. TREASURER. FINANCIAL SECRETARY.

Wendell Phillips Memorial Association,

159 BEACH STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

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